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For these reasons I would like to consider whether there should be lower standards of evidence for reasonable basis than for claims once they have been challenged. And even in the extreme, I think we should reevaluate whether the Commission should impose any requirement for substantiation prior to the making of claims. I hasten to add, however, that even if the Commission were to revise its policy, this would not mean the end of ad substantiation. Indeed, for the reasons mentioned above—preservation of reputation, avoidance of lawsuits, and meeting industry self-regulatory standards—I would expect most firms to continue their substantiation programs, especially in view of effective Commission policy of prosecuting false and deceptive advertising.

Over the coming months, I will have much to say on this and other issues before the Commission. I want you to know, however, that in each case I will be guided by the statutes we are responsible for administering and by my assessment of the evidence. Like most academics, I consider vital a willingness to question conventional wisdom. I promise you an open mind and a careful weighing of the facts.

Thank you very much.

EAST TIMOR

● Mr. TSONGAS. Mr. President, on past occasions I have expressed concern over the tragic situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, and have suggested steps that might be taken to help remedy the situation. Last year nine of my colleagues joined me in expressing some of these concerns in a letter to then Secretary of State Muskie. We spoke of the need to maintain and expand an independent international presence in the territory, in light of continuing reports of armed conflict and the jailing of large numbers of political prisoners. Our letter also underscored the plight of families who have been separated by the conflict—of those who have wished to leave East Timor for Portugal and Australia but have been prevented from doing so.

I have reiterated these points several times and have also stressed the need to open East Timor to the news media and, ultimately, to find diplomatic means to bring this conflict to an end. Last week marked 6 years since Indonesia invaded East Timor.

Recent information I have received only confirms the necessity of these and other measures. In October, Amnesty International released a report on the Timor situation that once again drew attention to accounts of summary executions and "disappearances" carried out by the Indonesian forces, as well as to arbitrary imprisonment, primarily but not exclusively on the offshore island of Ataura. For 6 years these prisons have been closed to inspection by neutral international humanitarian agencies.

Reports from Roman Catholic sources in East Timor have indicated that a recent Indonesian military offensive in the territory could lead to serious food shortages in the coming months, among a civilian population still recovering from the Cambodia-like catastrophe of 1978–80. A similar report appeared in the November 26 edition of the Boston Globe. International relief agencies should be allowed to establish sufficient food stockpiles in East Timor to avert further disasters.

Only a few days ago, I received a copy of a letter, dated November 19, from a distinguished Roman Catholic cleric in East Timor. The letter details the most gruesome of atrocities, and warrants our closest attention. Unfortunately, I have not been able to adequately substantiate the number of people killed as reported in the letter. It is very clear, however, that the conflict continues and that innocent Timorese people are being killed.

Mr. President, for the benefit of my colleagues I ask that the excerpts from the priest's letter be printed in the RECORD, followed by the above mentioned Amnesty International document and the article from the Boston Globe.

The material follows:

LETTER FROM ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST

(Dated November 19, 1981)

The news from Timor is quite bad. However it is necessary to have the courage to receive it, considering that it is based on the truth.

With the military operation that took place in July, August, and September, it seems as if a cyclone had swept Timor from end to end, leaving the island in a true tragedy: The death of innocent children of two to three years of age, pregnant women and defenseless people massacred only because they did not want to lose their identity among the nations of the world. Approximately 500 people were accused and killed without hesitation or pity, exclusively for the crime of not wanting to integrate into the Republic of Indonesia, preferring above all to be slaves in their own independence to being well-off under the paw of others. After all this we come to the conclusion that the military operation undertaken by Indonesia in Timor not only did not produce the desired effect, but was actually counterproductive. The question of Timor cannot be resolved by shooting, only through dialogue.

But let us leave this to the politicians, considering that the policies adopted until now have been an authentic disaster. The Indonesians would like to excuse themselves with material development which they would like to undertake. However, how can there be authentic development without the participation of the Timorese people, who are now reeling from hunger, disease and all kinds of physical misery? The greatest wealth of Timor is the Timorese people, without which everything else would have no sense. Let me ask God to enlighten men so that they can understand that above all it is human dignity that should be valued, in accordance with the teachings of the last Papal Encyclicals.

STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for this opportunity to present Amnesty International's concerns in connection with the Committee's consideration of the question of East Timor.

The areas addressed in this statement are those which fall within the specific mandate of the organization: Amnesty International seeks the release of "prisoners of conscience"—persons who have been imprisoned for the non-violent exercise of their beliefs, for their ethnic origin, colour, sex, language or religion. It works for fair and early trials for all political prisoners and on behalf of prisoners detained without charge or trial. It opposes without reservation the death penalty and torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

As Amnesty International noted in a statement before this committee last year and again in a statement to the Special Committee on Decolonization's Sub-Committee on Petitions, Information and Assistance in June 1981, it was evident that violations of the human rights within the mandate of Amnesty International continued to take place in East Timor. To summarize Amnesty International's concerns in East Timor as presented on those occasions: Amnesty International has been concerned that Timorese have "disappeared" after surrendering under the terms of amnesty guaranteeing their personal safety after being captured, that others who had surrendered to or been captured by Indonesian forces have been summarily executed; that large numbers of persons have been detained without trial, some for the full period since the invasion, and held in harsh prison conditions which constituted cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment.

Information received by Amnesty International since June indicates that grounds for grave concern remain.

Since June, Amnesty International has received reports that a number of persons who had "disappeared" were in fact killed shortly after being taken into the custody of Indonesian troops. These include three persons who were reported to have "disappeared" in early 1979: a 17-year-old student named Maria Gorete Joaquim, who "disappeared" with her uncle, Leopoldo Joaquim, and two young men, Filomeno Alves and Manuel Exposto, who had been well known in Dili before the Indonesian invasion as members of the popular musical group, Os Cinco do Oriente. A third member of the musical group, Onorio Pereira, about whose fate Amnesty International had previously received information, is now reported also to have been shot and killed by Indonesian troops in early 1979. Amnesty International feels that the circumstances of these deaths must be investigated thoroughly.

In recent months Amnesty International has received more extensive reports about the imprisonment without trial of large numbers of East Timorese. These reports indicate that in two places of detention, the former Dili District Prison (Cadeia Comarca under the Portuguese administration and still known as the Comarca) and the island of Atauro off the main island of Timor, at least 2,000 persons are detained. Those held in the Comarca are reported to be predominantly former combatants, although an unknown number of them are former Timorese soldiers of the Portuguese Army who did not engage in combat against the Indonesians, while others, believed to have taken part in fighting the Indonesian invasion, have been imprisoned without trial since immediately after the invasion in December 1975. Amnesty International drew the Committee's attention last year to the harsh conditions and poor diet in the Comarca which seriously endanger prisoners' health.

Since June 1980 Amnesty International has received continual reports of persons being held on the island of Atauro to the North of the main island of Timor. According to information received by the organization, those taken to the island are civilians held simply on suspicion of being sympathetic to the independence cause. In some cases, their families have been compelled to accompany them. Once on Atauro, they are required to build their own quarters and grow their own food. There are reported to be grave shortages of some essential foodstuffs. Information on the conditions in which they are held is sparse and hard to obtain.

Amnesty International would again like to stress, as it has on previous occasions, that it cannot regard the information available to it on the human rights situation in East Timor as complete, primarily because of the strict prohibition imposed by the Indonesian occupation forces which prevents unhindered access to the territory and the free flow of information from it. The organization has received other reports indicating detainees

are being held in other places, both on the mainland of Timor and on other offshore islands. Although it cannot confirm these reports, Amnesty International considers that, together with the recent well-founded reports of imprisonment in Dili and Atauro, they give urgency to its earlier recommendation that the International Committee of the Red Cross be allowed to undertake tracing and prison visitation programs in East Timor.

Amnesty International has now accumulated considerable evidence that East Timorese taken into the custody of Indonesian occupation forces have been and continue to be treated in violation of international standards, whether their fate be imprisonment without trial, extra-judicial execution or "disappearance". Amnesty International remains concerned that the Indonesian Government still has not responded to the recommendations made to it in April 1980 for the protection of the human rights of the people of East Timor.

Amnesty International presents these findings to the Committee in the belief that they are relevant and important to your consideration of the question of East Timor.

[From the Boston Globe, Nov. 26, 1981]

PORTUGUESE NEGLIGENCE CITED IN EAST TIMOR WAR

(By Peter Wise)

LISBON.—Military documents released last month by the Lisbon government show that the negligence and lack of discipline of Portuguese troops stationed on the former Portuguese colony of East Timor nourished the outbreak of civil strife between rival independence movements and facilitated the 1975 invasion by Indonesia. More than 200,000 died in these hostilities and the ensuing famine.

The controversial documents, kept secret since they were compiled in 1975 and 1976, were disclosed by the center-right Democratic Alliance coalition government to end speculation touched off by a recent documentary on the state-run television network. In the program, left-wing leaders of the 1974 "Revolution of Flowers" were accused of vacillating during secret talks with the Indonesians, thus easing the way for Indonesia's 1975 invasion of East Timor, a remote island 300 miles off the northwestern tip of Australia.

Three prominent Socialists and several other persons are filing defamation suits against the authors of the program. They claim the program deliberately set out to discredit the left. But the two journalists concerned and the government-appointed head of the television network maintain that the documentary was an objective narrative of events, compiled after four months of research.

The controversial documentary has finally brought the question of Timor—up until now known here as the "silent Vietnam"—to the forefront of Portuguese politics, sparking a bitter, three-way confrontation between the center-right Democratic Alliance, the opposition Socialist Party and the military Council of Revolution, a left-wing constitutional watchdog and a holdover from the early days of the revolution.

The documents released by the government indicate that two factors created the climate of instability in East Timor that led to civil war and later served as a pretext for the invasion by Indonesia—an operation carried out with US-supplied arms and endorsed by successive Washington administrations.

First, following the overthrow of the Salazar dictatorship in Lisbon in April 1974, revolutionary euphoria spread quickly from Portugal to troops on Timor. Several Portuguese officers and their troops defected to Timorese independence movements while several other units were so undependable that they were taken off the island. Political differences among Portuguese military commanders had "serious repercussions both at civilian and military levels," the report says.

By August 1975, "The Portuguese army no longer held decisive power on Timor," the documents conclude. "This breakdown of military command created the conditions for civil war" when fighting broke out between rival independence movements last month. "The colonial armed forces did not have the capacity to intervene" and the Portuguese withdrew to an offshore island where they maintained a "symbolic presence" until the invasion by Indonesia five months later.

Second, the indifference of political parties in Lisbon toward the decolonization of remote East Timor worsened the insecurity of the traditionally anti-Indonesian islanders, leaving them "convinced that Portugal would abandon the territory" and exacerbating the struggles between rival groups. The documents say the pressing problem of decolonization of the richer, more densely populated African colonies, where Portugal had been at war for several years, relegated the question of Timor to a minor priority.

Portugal's post-revolutionary governments were against maintaining a link with Timor, disapproving the financial aid necessary to develop the island, while diplomatic efforts by successive Lisbon governments were not able to pressure other powers into opposing the Jakarta aggression towards Timor, the reports conclude.

The principal document released by the government was written by Col. Lemos Pires, who was appointed military governor of the island by the revolutionary government in November 1974. His 700-page report to his military chiefs in Lisbon describes how the political and military situation on the island slipped out of his control, forcing him to withdraw his troops in August 1975.

Another of the hitherto secret documents is a 200-page report on the conduct of the Portuguese military in East Timor compiled in 1976 by a four-man military commission at the orders of left-leaning President Antonio Ramalho Eanes, then chief of the armed forces. The commission is strongly critical of Col. Pires for not using force to halt the fighting between rival Timorese factions.

The release of the dossiers is highly compromising for the Socialists, and in particular for the left-wing soldier-politicians who led the 1974 Portuguese revolution. The government maintains that its only motive for publication was "the public's right to know."

But the Council of Revolution says that by declassifying secret military documents that discredit the left, the government is using the case of East Timor for political ends.

Although the present dispute is about where the blame lies for the tragedy of Timor and is centered on the events of 1975, the furor has also cast a harsh light on the present government's unsuccessful attempts to do something about the plight of the East Timorese today.

Catholic Church sources in East Timor report that an Indonesian army "cleanup" operation against nationalist guerrillas still holding out in mountain areas could lead to renewed famine.

Since mid-September, security forces have been sweeping east and west through the island in a pincer movement aimed at driving out resistance fighters, says the Australian-based organization, Action for World Development.

All male islanders between 15 and 50 and many women and children have been conscripted to help round up their countrymen. Schools and public departments have been closed, say the church reports.

This mobilization has taken the Timorese away from their lands during the vital crop-sowing season and threatens a serious food shortage, the church contacts say.

In the wake of the Indonesian invasion in 1975, thousands died from starvation and disease when crops were destroyed.

Timorese refugees recently arrived in Lisbon say one of the factors holding back thousands who wish to flee the island is the difficulty in obtaining Portuguese passports. Meanwhile, the Portuguese diplomatic initiative launched a year ago with the aim of securing self determination for the islanders and a rapid solution to their vast humanitarian problems has so far shown no results.

NUCLEAR MORALITY

● Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I have always taken with utmost seriousness the injunction that the safety of the people is the first obligation of the public servant. In insuring that safety, we cannot play games, we can not play fast and loose, we must look at the world as it is. Sometimes, unfortunately, we get sidetracked from the central issues, as for instance when some among us speak of nuclear morality in such a way as to infer that all the moral decisions about having nuclear weaponry are made on our side of the issue.

The fact of the matter, of course, is that the other side possesses the same instruments of nuclear destruction, and we must then assess whether self-denial or unilateral restraints serve the cause of avoiding nuclear terror. If the history of this century shows anything, it is that conceding the field to our adversaries only encourages aggression and the worst kind of destruction that contemporary weapons are capable of.

The best of our moral philosophers, aware of the problem, are also aware of the solution. The great Augustine said:

To maintain peace within the natural order of men, rulers require the power and decision to declare war.

He went on to argue that those rulers must "defend the State against external war weapons."

The above quote, as well as a cogent analysis of this whole problem, is from a recent column written by George F. Will. Always incisive and penetrating, Will shows his mastery again in the December 21 issue of Newsweek.

Avoiding the temptation to synopsize that which Mr. Will has already reduced to brevity, I ask that this worthy column be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

NUCLEAR MORALITY

(By George F. Will)

Among the sundry and manifold changes in the world (the words are from the prayer book; a theological tone is apposite this week) is a political message from the portions of the clergy, especially the Roman Catholic clergy.

The bishop of Corpus Christi has protested the naming of a submarine for that city. This has drawn from the Navy Secretary (a Catholic) a starchy letter rejecting the implication that "naval ships and even military service are somehow profane." He says church teachings recognize the need for deterrent systems for the virtuous task of peace-keeping. "To maintain peace within the natural order of men," Augustine said, "rulers require the power and decision to declare war." They must, Aquinas said, "defend the state against external war weapons."

Do nuclear weapons invalidate that? When an Indianapolis parish votes to protest nu-